FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. VI. NO. 33. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, JULY 1, 1900. WHOLE NO. 273.

THE SAVIOUR OF SOCIETY.

O Son of man, but of what man who knows?
That broughtest healing on thy leathern wings
To priests, and under them did gather kings,
And madest friends to thee of all man's foes;
Before thine incarnation, the tale goes,
Thy virgin mother, pure of sensual stings,
Communed by night, with angels of chaste things,
And, full of grace, untimely felt the throes
Of motherhood upon her, and believed
The obscure annunciation made when late
A raven-feathered, raven-throated dove
Croaked salutation to the mother of love
Whose misconception was immaculate,
And when her time was come she misconceived.

II

Thine incarnation was upon this wise,
Saviour; and out of East and West were led
To thy full cradle by thy planet red
Shepherds of souls that feed their sheep with lies
Till the utter soul dies as the body dies,
And the wise men that ask to be fed
Though the hot shambles be their board and bed
And sleep on any dunghill shut their eyes,
So they lie warm and fatten in the mire:
And the high priest enthroned yet in thy name,
Judas, baptised thee with men's blood for hire;
And now thou hangest nailed to thine own shame
In sight of all time, but while heaven has flame
Shalt find no resurrection from hell-fire.

—Swinburne.

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"ANARCHIST-COMMUNISM."

Under this title a comrade, John Pawson, answers a number of questions, often asked by our opponents, endeavoring to show that under Anarchist-Communism the laborer will be denied the undisputed possession of the fruits of his toil; that "common ownership of land and capital" must deny the right of the individual to occupy and use, as his own, any particular portion thereof. Our comrade says "the exclusive occupancy and ownership of a particular portion of land and capital is wrong in principle." Now I deny that there is anything wrong in this principle, unless he means by "exclusive ownership" a right to hold out of use; in other words, possession by law. But this is evidently not what he means, for he says: "The individual not having the inherent power, is unable to produce wealth without the aid of society at large." Again I deny this, and assert that all wealth is the result of inherent power of the indvidual. The "wealth, society at large" creates, is not wealth, but a price placed upon opportunities denied the individual. This is the wealth the Single Taxer would tax, a rgime that would steal from a thief to refund to its victim. I agree with our comrade that "the right to that exclusive power pertaining to private property is without foundation in equity;" but cannot he see that "the inherent power" of the individual, that is to say, all individuals, denies the right of "the exclusive power" of any one? I also agree with him that man "has only equal right with others to the use of such materials . . . the ingredients of the earth that enter into wealth." He seems to advance as an argument that "property as it now exists is the product of past generations as well as the present;" that "the dead past has left its imprint upon land and capital." But just how this creates a duty to society, I am unable to see. The individual of today is greatly benefited by the wisdom and experience of past generations, even as his experience and wisdom will benefit those who come after him; but does this in any way invalidate his claim to "the exclusive occupancy and ownership of a particular portion of land and capital"? My right to life signifies a right to "the means whereby I live." Now land and capital are essentially the means of life; and as no two can occupy the same space, that occupancy must be exclusive; and this exclusive occupancy constitutes ownership.

Comrade Pawson says: "Private property being invasive in principle, community ownership of land and capital is equally so." This is true only when we regard private property and community ownership as a "right" granted and protected by some power higher than the individual—some organized authority. He practically admits the individual's right to land and capital when "actually operated by the claimant," and his "expropriation . . either voluntary or otherwise" is simply doing away with organized authority. When "the monopolizing invaders" have no power to back their invasion, there will be no "private property" in the sense of "an individual's or corporation's claim to land and capital, where such land and capital is in excess of use or requirement, or not actually operated by the claimant."

I have really no desire to criticize Comrade Pawson. I can see that in the main we agree exactly. His assertion that "if the individual can produce the requisite materials and machines and operate such of himself, he can consistently claim private property and the machines and their product. All the Anarchist-Communist can ask, is the equal opportunity to do likewise," clinches my whole argument.

This article is written to call Comrade Byington's attention to the theory of Anarchist-Communism. I suspect that his assertion that "there are men calling themselves Anarchist-Communists who believe that without universal and perpetual expropriation defended by force, there can be no true Communism," is based upon just such articles as this of Comrade Pawson. At least such was my experience when holding a like belief. But I was not so in love with this belief that I could not acknowledge my mistake when I came to read the context. It is very easy when one speaks of "expropriation" and says "the invaded part of humanity may say to monopolizing invaders: Peaceably if you will, forcibly if we must," to conclude that he means expropriation defended by force." And he does, but, it is not the organized force of authority; nor is it the force of an enraged and famishing people; but the force as Grave says "of individuals, conscious of their individuality, jealous of all their rights, determined to conquer them and capable of defending them once they are acquired." But after all why should we quarrel? This question of force is merely a question of expediency. Mr. Tucker has said himself, if I am not mistaken, that if he believed a forceful revolution would bring about true Anarchy, he would advocate force. So would I, but I believe that all physical force, when not exercised strictly in self defence, develops a struggle for supremacy, and contains all the elements of aggressive warfare. Force ever seeks advantage, and disregards principles. Hence with Grave I would stand for principle. "A directing principle which must guide him in the choice of the means suitable, for putting those ideas into practice, or facilitating a comprehension of them;—a principle as inevitable as a natural law, which one cannot transgress without being punished by the transgression itself; for it carries one further away from the proposed goal by producing the contrary of the result hoped for." I believe physical force always acts to "the contrary of the result hoped for." Hence I would apply the principle of self help, self reliance, self conscious individuality. The time has not yet come, when physical force need war with man. By proper education and co-operation, it can wrest from nature its sustenance. Let the laborer cease his contention with the capitalist and gathering capital from opportunities still presented, he still can help himself to the bounties of nature. Science can teach him how to operate the elements of nature which cannot be monopolized, to such an extent, that by proper co-operation he can produce all the food and apparel to be worn, enabling him to laugh monopoly to scorn.

East Elma, N. Y. A. L. BALLOU.

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ROVING AT RANDOM.

God created the earth. Who created God? Is not the mystery of the origin of the creator as puzzling as the whence and how of the universe?

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Were the priests who first sold indulgences to their "dependents" to conduct the "indecent" enterprise of propagation of the race, "sterling" characters? Are the politicians an improvement in principle upon their predecessors the priests? Shall we, being "free," keep on practising the absurdities of paying for and publicly announcing our intentions to do disgraceful deeds, thus encouraging praying and preying tendencies? Or shall we, instead, quit making a fuss about our depravity?

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Reader, does disobedience to "law and order" disturb your peace of mind? If so, the struggle for liberty is ahead of you.

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Happiness, when not secured within established regulations, is thieves' booty, and is solemnly declared to be spurious in quality and quickly perishable! The whims and purses of the master class invented the rules whereby to get and keep happiness; usage stamps them "right" and "respectable," never seeing the ill consequences trailing in their wake. Just why our gran'dads' ways should be universally considered correct for our society to copy, is not satisfactorily "explained away" by the men who would rally to the defence of the bicycle as against the ox cart, for the purpose of locomotion. Social principles are as certain in their results as mechanical principles.

There is bound to be considerable wobbling about of a society advancing in an ox cart, when the mass of its members are individually qualified to spin along on a wheel when traveling from place to place. The wobbling proves the undevelopment of social faculties. Every act that promotes harmony is social, that is motive power. When antagonism or friction follows motion, the explosive and not the motive power is being dealt with.

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Ridicule riddles the courage of the would-be evolutionist, and deprives the non-thinker of even a shade of independence. The progressively inclined may "brace up" by questioning himself thus: "Do I prefer to live as closely to my ideal as I can, and hear laughter at my expense, and know, if I do not hear it, that I am *called* a fool, or conform to custom and be ever conscious that I *am one*?"

So long as the crowd can be herded "off the grass," with jocose or sneering laughter, it can be driven to drudgery with the lash of a "living wage."

Berkeley, Cal. VIROQUA DANIELS.

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Otis declares that the war in the Philippines is ended; but that for an indefinite period it will be necessary to keep as many soldiers as at present, and to spend as large sums in "pacifying" the islands. Imperialism surely exacts a very heavy tribute.

J. F. M.

FREE SOCIETY.

FORMERLY "THE FIREBRAND."

Published Weekly by Free Society Publishing Ass'n.

50 CENTS A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 236 Clinton Park, San Francisco, Calif. For visitors off Market St. Castro car.

Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

WHAT CAN YOU DO FOR THE PROPAGANDA?

The Anarchist propaganda is different from all others. It is not carried on by a machine, but by individual men and women. It depends for its success on the truth that is in it, and on the degree in which it can convince and inspire individuals to action. Its scattered groups, while affording opportunities for associative action, exercise no authority over their members. Under these circumstances, and with a cause of such transcendant importance, there is tenfold need of spontaneous exertion on the part of every one whose heart is truly in the movement.

There are many who wish to work, but do not know just what to do. They can act, but not initiate. Some are inclined to feel that the little they can do will not amount to anything. This is a great mistake. No comrade, however poor, however busy, however isolated, however hampered in any way, is so situated that he or she cannot do *something* for the movement. The only question is one of willingness. Do you really wish to see the Anarchist movement grow? If so, why not do your part toward that end, be it large, or be it small?

You can help the cause by increasing the circulation of Free Society, and by providing us with funds to enable us to make it what it ought to be. You can keep us informed as to the news from your vicinity. You can call our attention to important magazine articles, which we might not otherwise see. You can send us helpful suggestions for the paper, and good articles for publication.

You can provide yourself with Anarchist literature, and study the subject thoroughly. You can educate yourself in the history of the social movement, and the basic principles of Anarchism, so as to be thoroughly competent, in private if not in public, to explain the subject, to answer questions, and to refute objections. This is no trifle. If we are to win supporters we must show ourselves well-informed, free from prejudice, and capable of giving sound reasons for our position. Mere assertion will not do.

You can circulate our literature among your neighbors, giving them pamphlets, and selling or loaning them books, according to opportunity. Get people to read; and they will soon see the superiority of Anarchism to other social philosophies.

You can assist in the propaganda tours of our different speakers; arrange for meetings and advertising; and provide hospitality.

You can do quiet, persistent, personal work, the year round. Let your principles be known, without making yourself offensive by abusing those who differ from you. Show courtesy and tolerance; but never back down. Personal propaganda is the most effective kind.

Above all, you can *live* your convictions. A true Anarchist will be true to himself to-day, and thus set an example of the ideal life in a free society. If you think we cannot wholly carry out our ideas in our present environments, surely the honest way is to seize every opportunity to carry them out just as far as possible, and not to see how inconsistent you can be, and yet claim the right to be called an Anarchist. Defy conventionality as fully as you can. Do not yield weakly to every little influence. Do not make existing conditions a pretext for *voluntarily* performing acts inconsistent with your professions. Such acts always hurt the cause, no matter what sophistical excuses may be made for them.

Comrades, the Anarchist movement contains the hope of humanity. It is the battle of the new against the old, of progress against conservatism, of truth against authority, of justice against injustice. It appeals to all who love their kind, to all who long for a brighter and better day for the human race. What are you doing for it? What will you do to speed the oncoming of the free society of the future? J. F. M.

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"In cases of the highest importance, it is of no consequence whether a man breaks a human law or not."

CURRENT NEWS.

After all, murderer Taylor managed to sneak away from Indiana, and to reach the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia. There the owner of the Republican Party and the Chairman of the Convention warmly grasped his blood-stained hand, amid the plaudits of the assembled crowd. It was an edifying spectacle. We have become calloused to the commission of bribery, theft, perjury, conspiracy, and various other nefarious deeds, with impunity, by political leaders; and now murder is added to the list; and the great Republican Party glorifies the perpetrator.

That was a marvellous convention. In addition to the apotheosis of assassination, it presented many other features worthy of the party. Two Texas delegates illustrated their high sense of the dignity of manhood by indulging in a rowdy fist-fight in a committee room. The second day's session was opened with a prayer by a minister who thus addressed the Almighty: "O Lord, may the victories of our army and navy be abundantly continued," evidently rejoicing in the horrible butcheries thus carried on under the protection of his tribal fetich. The platform adopted was weak and meaningless beyond precedent or expectation. It reiterated some of the promises of years ago, without attempting to explain why they had not been already carried out by the party that has had full sway all this time. It was distinctly a convention of bosses; and the rank and file had nothing to do but to take what was prepared for them. Everything was carefully cut and dried. Read the following dispatch for illustration:

Philadelphia, June 20.—Immediately following Mr. Hanna's announcement of the withdrawal of all the other candidates and the nomination of Gov. Roosevelt for vice-president by acclamation, Mr. Dolliver authorized the following statement:

My candidacy has been wholly unsolicited. I have not up to this moment spoken one word seeking the nomination to even a member of my own delegation. *Tonight Mr. Long, Mr. Scott and myself placed our candidacies in Mr. Hanna's hands to dispose of as he saw fit.* It was agreed that our names would not be presented to the convention, and upon my request Mr. Lafe Young of my State will place Mr. Roosevelt's name in nomination in behalf of the nation.

The crimes and infamies of the McKinley administration were carefully glozed over; and a campaign of claptrap was inaugurated. McKinley and Roosevelt will probably be elected, owing to the power of money, and the gross ignorance of the masses; but I do not envy them their followers, nor their ill-won triumph. He chooses ill who renounces self-respect, to play the temporary role of a puppet king.

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A robbers' trust has been unearthed in Chicago. This is composed of burglars, pickpockets, and shoplifters, and is not in direct alliance, as far as has yet been learned, with the larger robbers' trusts engineered by Hanna, Carnegie, Rockefeller, and other "respectable" exploiters.

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The special prerogatives of the police in this "land of liberty" were well illustrated the other day in San Francisco, when a drunken policeman ran amuck, and came near killing several persons. On being brought up for sentence, he was fined, and then told he need not pay his fine. Imagine any ordinary citizen being let off this way!

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So the Chinese Empire is to be divided; and if the deep-laid scheme of Russia prevails, she is to get the lion's share. It is curious that Buddhism, Shintoism, and Confucianism can dwell side by side in perfect harmony; but the missionaries of "the Prince of Peace" always appear in the light of trouble-makers, and contrive to get themselves "persecuted" to just the extent required to give their governments a pretext for territory-grabbing. Missionaries come in very handy, in these days of "expansion."

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Lovers of the strong centralized government so much desired by American Imperialists may well note the effect of such a government on the freedom of the press, as evidenced in the following dispatch:

London, June 22.—The Vienna correspondent of the the Daily Express says the Russian minister of the interior, M. Sipiaguine, has issued the following instructions for the guidance of newspapers in dealing with the Far Eastern situation:

First—No reference to the movement of Russian troops or warships.

Second—Papers must bear in mind that the czar is actuated only by a desire to maintain peace and good will among the nations.

Third—No gossip about differences among the powers that would be displeasing to the government.

Fourth—No criticism of Russian diplomacy or of military or naval strategy.

Fifth—Editorial writers should recollect that Russia is predestined to predominate in Asia.

Sixth—Comparisons may be made between Russian and foreign troops and seamen when unfavorable to foreigners.

Do not run away with the idea that such tyranny could exist only in Russia. The same tendency is seen in all governments, when they have the power. Already the purpose of the governmentalists is shown by the Idaho outrages. The more we endure, the more we shall be made to endure.

J. F. M.

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AS TO THE PARIS CONGRESS.

The suggestions of Voltairine de Cleyre in No. 29 concerning preparations for the Paris Congress are timely and sensible. It ought to be made possible for Free Society to print and circulate blank forms to be filled in by secretaries of groups wherever there are groups, or by other individuals where there are no groups. This form should be very carefully gotten up, and should contain all the information needed, such as number, nationality, sex and occupation of members or of individuals in towns and cities, the doctrines accepted, literature on hand, etc. etc. This would accelerate an exceedingly important matter; and if this suggestion were to be acted upon by our European comrades a mass of statistics and data could be gathered which would prove very valuable and useful. To start this movement I have made out a blank form, which may be altered as deemed advisable by the comrades of Free Society, and this form should then be printed in sufficient numbers to distribute among the groups and responsible individuals in this country. I will contribute one dollar toward the necessary expense of printing and mailing.

Like Comrade de Cleyre, my own occupation is such as to prevent me from being in close touch with organized workers, but I hope some of our energetic comrades affiliated with the trades unions will exert themselves to ascertain the sentiments of their fellows in regard to the movement for liberty. A systematic and pains-taking canvass should be made, if it is possible, and the results forwarded to Paris in time for the Congress.

Several other valuable suggestions have been made as to matters of importance to bring before the Congress. During the early part of last winter I wrote letters to Free Society (which were published) giving some ideas of my own. At that time I urged among other matters the necessity of a well organized international bureau of correspondence and agitation, having one common center and several subcenters in each country, directing a systematic movement for the spread of our ideas. I maintain that without some such bureau our movement will continue weak and make but little headway. Its importance may be seen in the efforts we are proposing to make to furnish necessary data for the Paris Congress. If such a Bureau were in existence it would be comparatively easy to gather all the information needed in a very short time. I cannot think of anything which the Congress would consider more important than this.

The nature of an international movement for agitation should also be carefully considered: whether a distinct organization, something like the old International, should be started and maintained or not, and in this connection the question of methods and tactics might be gone into. A Declaration of Principles, clearly defining Anarchism and Free Communism would be of value, not only in unifying the movement all over the world, but in setting at rest the question of what constitutes a "good" Anarchist.

I regard the coming Congress as the most important

in our movement, and this country should not be behind in presenting valuable facts, statistics and suggestions for consideration of the delegates, whether we are represented by a delegate or not.

WM. HOLMES.

COMMENT.

Comrade Holmes raises some important questions, on which the immediate opinion of as many comrades as possible is desirable. Let our comrades in every community collect data along the lines suggested by Comrades Cohn and Holmes, and send them in as speedily as possible. We will see that they are forwarded to the Congress. In the depleted condition of our funds, and with the amount of work on hand, we cannot undertake to send out such blanks as are suggested. From the articles already published, every comrade can see the nature of the information desired. It now depends on the individuals whether we use to the full the opportunities afforded by the coming Congress. J. F. M.

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CHORDS.

But this [the Mass.] Board of Health has as good a right to issue its infamous edict, as our government had to declare war. Both are the law of force carried to the extent of taking life. The root of the difficulty lies in the law of force itself. As I have said so many times and still keep on saying, the only government of any value in this world, is government of self. When the majority of people understand that, there won't be any war or vaccination, or many other harmful things.—Rockland Independent, Rockland Mass.

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War is for the State. If one individual should begin war on his own account, he would be considered a brigand and dealt with accordingly, when caught. The State monopolizes the business of war, as it does punishments of all kinds. If there is any wicked work to perform, the State uniformly claims that as its own high prerogative.—Newark Courier, Newark, N. Y.

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Some people are much alarmed at the use of the word revolutionary. They do not realize that the clash of arms is a mere incident in the deeper and broader movement which goes on to its logical conclusion without regard to the results of the armed conflict. The bursting of the shell is not the birth of the fowl; it is but one of the stages in the process of birth, and so it is in the higher expression of these laws when determining social relations. If resisted, waste and destruction results; but the revolution takes place regardless of opposition. When we become more intelligent, we will not resist natural forces; it don't pay.—The New Light, Port Angeles, Wash.

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The first thing we know the powers will be fighting to see which shall restore peace in China. —The Labor World, Duluth, Minn.

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NOTES AND REFLECTIONS.

It is hoped that Comrade Morton's plea for an eight page paper will meet with encouragement and offers of hearty co-operation. We have long felt the need of a more adequate medium for the expression of our ideas and the publication of matters important to the radical movement. Comrade Morton has the right idea of how a paper like Free Society should be conducted. Let us sustain him in his endeavor to give to the movement in this country a clean, high minded, readable radical paper of ample space for the publication of articles of interest to subscribers and the general public. We want a paper that we can ask our friends and acquaintances to read, and that will do them good to read it; a paper free from offensive personalities; a broad, liberal paper, devoted to every subject pertaining to the freedom of the individual and the solidarity of the race. Finally, the editor should be given the utmost liberty to exercise his own judgment in the conduct of the paper. It is not wise to seek to tie his hands, to put a bridle upon him, to attempt to dictate the policy of the paper while he has control. There will always be some things about the paper that some of us don't like. We can afford to overlook minor imperfections, if the paper on the whole is well received and doing good work. I have been an editor, and know how difficult it is to please all readers and subscribers. Send in your suggestions, comrades, but don't get angry if the editor uses his own judgment in selecting what seems to him the most valuable, and ignores the rest.

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Comrade Voltairine de Cleyre's "confession of faith" in No. 29 is not without its useful lesson to enthusiastic, zealous comrades who are younger in the movement. While discarding the individualistic doctrine, which she rightly characterizes as "numberless States within States involved in the idea of mutual assurance," which she held for years, she cannot yet accept the doctrine of Free Communism *as she understands it*, and therefore prefers to leave to the future the form of society best adapted to its needs. But this latter is precisely what I, who call myself a Free Communist, desire to do; only I think I can perceive forces at work which will not only make Free Communism desirable; but that it will be the only system possible adapted to the needs of a people emancipated from the thraldom of monopoly. I don't blame Comrade de Cleyre for not accepting Anarchist-Communism as it has been so often set forth by its advocates: a cut and dried system of economy made to order in the brains of certain enthusiastic devotees, authoritarian in its essence and spirit, even while pretending to be libertarian in its application. To me such a system of social economy would also be distasteful and not all satisfying. But the best thought on the subject that I have been able to learn pre-supposes no such arrangement of society, but leaves to evolution (the forces at work in society itself) the form to be adapted, confident, in the words of Free Society's headline: "that in the absence of Monopoly Price and Competition cannot exist, and that (Free) Communism is the inevitable result."

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The Mark Hanna-McKinley-Roosevelt show at Philadelphia is nearing its close as I write, and that particular circus will be started on its mission to cater to a long suffering public. What a pitiable spectacle it has thus far been! Time was when a semblance of choice was given the people of this country in choosing their candidates, but now the whole affair is openly and brazenly fixed by the principal wire pullers, and the only "rights" the Republican common people have in the matter is to hurrah for the chosen candidates and vote them into office. Meanwhile we will do well to closely watch events as they transpire on this national checkerboard. If I mistake not the king is already chosen, and is making rapid strides toward the goal. Here is the form of it:

EMPEROR THEODORE I,
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

WM. HOLMES.

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DISCORDS.

The Examiner continues to publish Max O'Rell's drivel, the latest specimen being a little essay entitled "The Woman I Hate." It appears that Max O'Rell hates every woman who dares to think for herself, and to claim the right of a human being. His ideal is the sweet little puppet who reveres man's supremacy in all things. And yet some would-be reformers tell us there is no need of agitating the sex question!

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"A San Francisco Merchant," writing in Civic and Social Problems, misrepresents Anarchism and Communism as completely as possible. He identifies Anarchy with chaos, and Communism with petty co-operative experiments. Such ignoramuses are themselves impervious to reason; but they are unfortunately able to delude a large portion of the reading public.

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A BELATED INQUIRER.

In your issue of May 20, J. A. Gillie makes the customary fling at marriage. Now, I can't understand for the life of me why so many of the contributors to Free Society show such blind and unreasoning prejudice against that institution. What is it in essence but the public declaration of two persons to live together as man and wife? (1) What is there so monstrous in the idea that they owe that much to the community or society? (2) Of course we know that the contract and divorce is made a means of robbery; but how does that affect the principle? (3) One cannot be buried decently without being robbed in the same way; but who ever made that an objection to civilized methods of disposing of the dead? (4) I may be too thick-headed and obtuse to perceive the "progress" of a pair living together, and raising a family without considering themselves bound by any sacred ties or obligations; but where does their superior morality and "common sense" come in over a couple that do? (5) What is there anyway about monogamy and the inherent desire of every normal man and woman to have the love and loyalty of one of the opposite sex through life that makes most Anarchists froth at the mouth? (6)

D. W. SHIDLER.

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(1) Exactly; and in such "living together" are the germs of that sexual slavery, which has always proved a main curse to the race. It is not "prejudice," but direct observation of the evils flowing from the marriage system, that renders it abhorrent to friends of liberty.

(2) What have the private relations of individuals to do with "the community"? Anarchists do not accept this right of dictatorship, or intermeddling with the affairs of others.

(3) What principle?

(4) Is burial the only "civilized" method? Most progressive people see nothing but barbarism in fashionable and elaborate funeral rites and customs.

(5) A "free union" recognizes the individuality of both man and woman. The only "sacred" tie is that of mutual and spontaneous love; and that requires no bonds or contracts.

(6) We criticize monogamy on account of its results; and dogmatic mouthings about "the inherent desire of every normal man and woman" do not constitute an argument. All those who wish to hold others in bondage may be expected to object to the advocacy of principles of freedom. Our comrade talks about "loyalty.....through life" in the true spirit of the slave owner. The first "loyalty" of a human being is loyalty to himself or herself. Marriage has always made a chattel of woman, and a hypocrite of each sex. We do not "froth at the mouth," but simply recognize facts as they are, and cannot admit that any institution is so "sacred" as to be beyond criticism. J. F. M.

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Literature.

The Theory of the Leisure Class. By Thorstein Veblen. New York, N. Y. The Macmillan Company.

It is safe to say that this work will take its place among the valuable contributions to sociologic thought. The theory of the author is likely to be warmly disputed; but it is sustained by many pertinent facts and strong arguments. The leisure class, with the parasitism and irrational customs that characterize it, is shown to have evolved out of the growth of the institution of private property, and of the predatory and warlike spirit. The author is careful not to say too much; but between the lines it is easy to read the severest condemnation of the social conditions of today. Whether Mr. Veblen suspects it or not, he has furnished a logical basis for the overthrow of private property and the military system by which alone governments are upheld. He has effectively demonstrated that the existence of the leisure class is only possible by the exploitation of the masses, and is incompatible with economic justice or with an enlightened race-consciousness.

Morals and Socialism. By Charles H. Kerr. *The Odd Trick.* By Ernest Belfort Bax. Chicago, Ill. C. H. Kerr & Co. Price 5 cents.

Two neat little essays in one pamphlet, showing the fallacies of current ethical standards. They have no particular value as an argument for Socialism.

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In San Francisco.

James F. Morton, Jr., will lecture in Turk Street Temple, 117 Turk St., on the following evenings, at 8 P. M.

1900. SUBJECTS:

JULY 3—*Trades Unionism.*
JULY 10—*Church and State in the Past and Present.*
JULY 17—*Why Marriage is a Failure.*
JULY 24—*Ideal Anarchy.*

Open discussion will follow lecture.
Admission free. All invited.

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KEEP IN THE MIDDLE OF THE ROAD.

Victor Southworth objects to criticism of tactics; yet he says "we need to devote Free Society to the enlightenment of the people, as to the meaning and possibility of Anarchism." With this I heartily agree, and will fight to the last ditch against any attempt to confound it with politics. Every one of the critics of H. Addis knows he has done good work, and that his heart was always for the good of the cause. As one of his critics said to me, "Think of our best men doing such things." I would like to give the name; but as it was a private letter, I cannot. It is not that we do not appreciate the noble work of our comrades; but it is our determination not to see them personally, or our ideal in the absolute, dragged into this miserable quagmire.

Now Addis speaks of never riding in a "Pullman car at the expense of comrades." That is a small fling for Addis to make; and as it is made publicly, I hope my answer will be printed even though our Comrade Southworth objects; for with me as with Southworth I am not fighting persons, but principles which are at stake. I know that when a tour for Addis was thought of, he certainly did object to riding *outside* cars. He said then, if the comrades wanted him, they would have to show it by giving him the opportunity to pay his fare; and he gave as an instance the case of Herman Eich, who was killed riding on freight trains, going about preaching the ideal of Anarchism. In that position I agreed with Addis. All Anarchists are not poor. Some of them like what Voltairine calls "intellectual pie;" but like other pie eaters they want none of the trouble connected with the preparation.

Addis is no pie eater; he is certainly a worker; and I am glad he is not simply class conscious, but knows that human beings are human, independently of what *ist* they are tagged with; but our speakers fare badly enough without being expected to ride on the outside of freight trains. They give us their brains, which, if prostituted to capitalism, would make them rich; their energies, few of them retain their health in the great battles they wage in our interests; and we, whose mouths are locked in our slave pens, give what we can to support them in traveling expenses, or entertain them, and feel that they are slowly but surely filing the chains that bind us.

Voltairine said in one of her essays on the 11th of November celebration: "Ye have made us look into stranger's eyes, and know him for our own." This is why we think this question of tactics very important. These men many of us have never seen; but we know them for our own; and we are not satisfied to see any of them so engrossed in tactics as to lose sight of principle, and befog the readers of Anarchistic papers; and I decidedly would never hurrah for Tucker, if he is making $60 per week for Tucker, as many of his subscribers make many personal sacrifices for the paper (Liberty), not because they need its teachings, but to keep such literature afloat, believing, as we who work for Free Society, that the Social Revolution will be less brutal, more bloodless, if the people comprising it are ready for the change and in good intellectual and social health; then the germs of our present social disorder may die of starvation, in place of the bodies of men and women being fed to the germs. As Southworth says: "Law and order need no prison when tomorrow man is free." We want no dollars for policy's sake from people who subscribe to anybody, anything. They never give *something for nothing;* they expect to and will use you for their own ends, in return. The fact that Anarchists are not pugs or perfectionists will be more satisfactory to people, Comrade Southworth, than all philosophy and no criticism; and for them to believe everything is fixed once you get your tag, that's too much like Christianity, confirmation in something you have never investigated. S. A. PATTON.

FAIR QUESTIONS.

The question of methods and tactics is a vital one; it is possible we have not dealt dispassionately with it; that there has been too much smoke and too little solid shot. It is charged that the critics have shown "prejudice," and made "no argument as to why a lawyer cannot be a good Anarchist, or a good Anarchist cannot be a lawyer." A "good Anarchist" means,—I suppose we will all agree on this definition—one who is eager to advance human liberty, and uses every means at his command to that end. I am told there are a goodly number of Anarchist lawyers. Will our comrades-in-law please shed a little light on the following questions, and outline the methods they use as "good Anarchists" to further the cause of human liberty?

Do they hide their real sentiments from the public? If so, why? How does this mode of action propagate new ideas? Are there any who are publicly labeled and known as Anarchists? Does free expression injure them financially and socially? If so, does this course help the propagation of liberty more than discreet silence? If not, why do they choose free expression instead of silence? Where discreet silence is maintained, what mode of action is employed to further propaganda? Are there questionable influences surrounding the legal fraternity, that warrant Kropotkin's appeal to the young lawyer to drop his profession, on the grounds that to act as "a servant of the written law" is to be at war with one's own conscience, and that the struggle will terminate in the lawyer becoming a scoundrel or leaving the profession?" Aside from propaganda work, is it possible for a man to earn a livelihood at law practice and not be a mental prostitute? These questions are submitted in the hope that something definite may be learned of the possibility for propaganda in the profession of the law.

As a means of livelihood it cannot be excelled. I know a town of 500 inhabitants that supports 12 lawyers; if the facility for propaganda can be developed in like measure, we may hear something drop. KATE AUSTIN.

LOVE AND JEALOUSY.

True love desires that its object shall be happy. It imposes no restrictions, and makes no demands. Love and jealousy cannot exist in the same person at the same time; for they are always opposites. If you love a person, you wish that person to find happiness in any way he or she desires or can. If you are jealous of a person, you wish that person to find happiness only in loving you. It is no proof of love to say you love. The proof of love is that you seek the loved one's happiness in all respects. If you impose restrictions on another, willfully or knowingly, to that extent you do not love him or her, no matter what you think or say. If your pleasure is in loving, without regard to whether you are loved exclusively in return, then you know you love. There is a difference between loving yourself in yourself, and loving yourself in another. The latter only is love.—Hugh O. Pentecost.

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